...ation's mark on the terrain (1). The manner, as nearly exactly

1. My observations in this respect contradict those of one of the authors cited in

Fig. 33

...ume 1, p. 3. As I was trying to make as complete a collection as possible at Awanoogi, I gave special attention to all the objects which met my eyes, and the pottery did not seem to me to be of local fabrication. I also did not see any women working or moving it, nor did I notice any of the signs which indicate the existence of a ceramic industry in the entire Indian village.

...the grindstone, are made of a flat or slightly concave stone, against which another, oval in form and polished by use, is rubbed. These mullers are sometimes semicircular; the pressure which the

/113 cont./

178 Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly
123 sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I
124 was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

178 Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has
179 been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared
121 forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves
174 only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My docu-
[126] ments have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

104 The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); č corresponds to the Spanish "ch," š to the French "ch," ǰ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and l' is the "ll" of the same language. The combined sign k^{x} is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel ę is a very open e close to a closed a.

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/180 cont./

Musical Instruments

[534] [114] The musical instruments that I got among the Čipaya have been the subject of a detailed monograph by Mr. Izikowitz, assistant at the Museum of Göteborg and an outstanding specialist in that field. I am allowing myself to refer the reader to this work (1), as

[113]

1. Izikowitz (K.G.). "Les instruments de musique des Indiens Chipaya /The musical instruments of the Čipaya Indians/." Revista del Instituto de etnología de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

he will find only a brief summary of it here.

Membranophones. There is not one family in Chipaya which [191] does not have at least one drum. This instrument, very common on the Peruvian and Bolivian altiplano, in Chipaya presents the peculiarity of having a square shape (Fig. 8, A /see p. 173/). It is made up of a wooden frame whose sides, made of small boards brought together with tenons, are about 20 centimeters long and six [239] to seven centimeters high. This skeleton is covered on its two faces with sheep or llama skin stretched by means of ligatures passed in a zigzag across the holes in the membrane. Along the latter there has been fastened a drum cord, or a string holding a splinter of wood which hits the membrane. They play the drum by holding its handle in the left hand and beating it with a single drumstick, the enlargement at the end of which is covered with rags.

● [126] I was able to acquire a round drum in Čipaya (Fig. 8, E). The mounting is formed by a piece of flexible wood bent into a ring, with the ends sewn together by means of leather thongs. This specimen measures 37 cm. in diameter and nine cm. in height.

/395 cont./ I do not
193 think that they must be considered as belonging to the Čipaya,
199 and for two or three of them an Aymara origin is evident. It must
201 be added that outside their language the Čipaya do not possess
197 any original cultural element, and that they should be considered as an Aymara tribe which has more or less escaped Spanish influence.

126 These texts, the first to have been collected in the Čipaya
193 dialect, are long enough to allow us to extract several grammatical rules from them. The information which they bring us on this point will be completed by the everyday phrases which will be published at the same time as my Uro-Čipaya dictionary. /The myths and texts, pp. 395-415, have been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/186 cont./

534 Panpipes. The Čipaya Indians have two types of Panpipes. The first (maiso) is extremely simple. It is composed of two tubes of unequal length, closed at one end and tied together with a wool cord (Fig. 8, D /see p. 173/). One of the tubes is 10 cm. long and the other 12.1 cm. This instrument was a particularly difficult acquisition for me. There was only one specimen in the whole village, [194] and it was moreover the property of the mayordomo, the official entrusted with maintaining places and objects of worship. He only resigned himself to giving it to me after much hesitation. Even before I had acquired this object it had been mentioned to me as a venerable piece. I had only one occasion to see it in use: this was at the Carnival, a particularly solemn and clearly pagan festival.

• [116] One Čipaya had the happy idea of selling me a whole series of syrinxes which present several very interesting peculiarities. They are composed of a single row of bamboo tubes (five or seven) closed by a natural node and held inserted between two sticks themselves joined by a crossed string. Each of these pipes is provided on one side with a splinter of bamboo cut obliquely on its lower part (Fig. 8, B).

What is the purpose of this arrangement, which has not been found on any other Panpipes in the Old or New World? Mr. Izikowitz conjectures that it is a question of accessories of no practical value which have been substituted for a second series of tubes. This [114] hypothesis appears very far-fetched to me, and I ask myself if it is not a matter here of the fantasy of a flute-maker who thought of rein- [191] forcing the ligature by this means. The latter, in contrast, merits our attention: it is actually a type which has only been found at Arica in the Andean region, but which still has a wide distribution in the west of the Amazon basin. Let us add that this ligature is always used for flutes with a single series of tubes.

The syrinxes which I have just described are apparently very [191] old specimens. I have seen newer ones among the Čipaya of the type common among the Aymara and among all the Indians of the altiplano in general.

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[177] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
• [126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301] [337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/200 cont./

#17 region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar
172 to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The
301 features and the costume of the female figure are more easily dis-
532 tinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

#17 The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have
172 kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I
26 thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only
301 very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify
325 this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

#171 The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which
301 I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/205 cont./

157 same. Boredom and silence overwhelm the village. The children
461 themselves share in this general sullenness: they never have fun, so
[859] to speak, and have no toys. The men watch over their sheep with a vague eye or stay squatting in their huts chewing coca or doing nothing. The women, if necessity forces them, weave some coarse material or occupy their leisure time by looking for fleas on each other or by having the innumerable small plaits of their hair made.

157 The Čipaya are nonetheless much more congenial and pleasant
17 than their neighbors the Aymara. They do not have the morbid mis-
[609] trust of strangers which many of the Bolivians have inherited from the Aymara. They are also not so stupidly grasping and stubborn as the latter. The Čipaya are, without doubt, of all the Indians on the altiplano the most pleasant and easygoing. In spite of this dismal apathy which I have just noted, they are capable of laughing, which rarely happens among the Aymara, at least in the presence of
123 strangers. They know how to appear well-wishing, and my relations
157 with them were almost always excellent. I had difficulty with only two Čipaya, who, in the middle of a festival insulted me /206/ liberally. Their attitude, due to their alcoholic excesses, was severely judged by those present. During all the ceremonies in which I took part, I was the object of all sorts of attentions, and they never forgot to offer me alcohol and coca. This generosity was all the more touching as the poor Čipaya pay a lot for these products and, as a result of the crisis, had only a very little. I often received presents
[431] of small cheeses which were given me as a sign of recognition for a service or advice. Sometimes these humble gifts were made without any hidden reason, simply out of friendliness.

I never had to complain of dishonesty among them, but I have reason to believe, however, that they are not so scrupulous when it is a question of the property of other members of the tribe. Several
152 small facts removed all my illusions in this respect. Life in Chipaya
578 is not idyllic. Jealousy rages there like an unleashed and malevolent
[123 devil. No Indian dared to sell me the objects which I acquired for
126] my collections in broad daylight: all feared the unkind comments of those near them.

2:Métraux--216 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24 Carangas-Chipaya

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The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

2. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an undoubtedly very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Čipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the fatidic twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love to speak has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by holes filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these /338/ conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

/338 cont./

197 borrowings. When one sees conjunctions like "when" rendered by
192 the hybrid word culora (at what time), one is forced to admit that the influence of Spanish on Uro is old and has been exerted with particular strength. It is possible that these Indians formerly lived near Spanish establishments on the banks of the Desaguadero. One /339/ must also not forget that a number of Spanish elements have come to them by way of the Aymara. It is also through the Aymara that so many Kičua terms have crept into Uro, yet certain ones seem to have been transmitted to them through contact with groups speaking Kičua (ex: wata: "year"; wiri: "behind," etc. etc.)

124 The texts noted down very clearly illustrate this complete
191 disintegration of Uro: the purely Uro words are only wreckage which
197 float in the context. These accounts are not even the first flow from my informant, who dictated Aymara to me slightly colored with Uro, and it was only by insisting that I obtained a purer version. This method had the disadvantage of denaturing the account: my [128] speaker, forced to express himself in a language which had become somewhat unfamiliar to him, having a tendency to simplify or shorten his expressions.

126 The present state of Uro explains in part the insufficient number of texts collected. There is another reason for this gap in my documentation: the mental life of the Čipaya is so poor, their activities so few, that there is no material sufficiently rich among them to be the subject of somewhat extensive accounts. They have no myths at all, and one can hardly give this name to the few stories of Aymara origin that I was able, with great effort and expense, to gather during my stay among them. When I asked them to give me an account of their activities in Uro, they discharged this duty with a few phrases which effectively summarized their monotonous
115 activities. My investigation was made still more difficult by the apathy and stupidity of my informants, who were incapable of giving me a somewhat coherent narrative. There they were, stammering, obstinately stumbling, and passively refusing to understand what I wanted of them. This brutishness of the Čipaya was obvious to me

/339 cont./

115 with particular intensity during my last expedition when I was dealing with the Chaco tribes. There the stories and narratives spurt out. and the poor ethnographer is generally forced to stop the enthusiasm
124 of his interpreter in order not to be flooded. In Chipaya the obstacles that were set before me by the strangely narrow mentality of the Indians were augmented by the necessity in which I found myself of almost always having to use an Aymara interpreter. There is no
[197] Čipaya who speaks enough Spanish to act as drogman. I was almost always obliged to state my questions in Spanish and to have them translated into Aymara. As one can imagine, this system compli-
115 cated my task and increased the chances of error. However, I was well pleased with my Aymara interpreter, a young, very intelligent Indian who very quickly understood the nature of my work and was
126 an /340/ excellent assistant. I tried to avoid wrong constructions by
128 proceeding with constant rechecks. Practically all the words in this dictionary were noted down four or five times by me and obtained from different individuals after more or less long intervals. I had all the lists of words dictated by a native verified by submitting them to others, and almost always I had the Čipaya words that I had just transcribed retranslated into Aymara. Moreover, I always tried to make sure of the exact meaning of a word by having my informant use it in a phrase. The exactitude of my dictionary will be confirmed by a simple comparison with the Uro vocabulary collected in Ancoaqui six months later, when I did not have any of my notes taken in Chipaya before my eyes.

/147 cont./

this group are the handsome monograph of Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Créqui-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One ever notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of his vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of accounts and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Pukina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

*539 101 114 Urus." Some authors (Posnanski) have thought that ucúmi was the name which the Uru gave themselves in their own language. Fray Anontio de la Calancha already spoke of them by the *539 192 name of Ochozuma. awíri or awári designates the double of the person who lives on after the latter's death; our informant [175] also uses the Spanish word alma (5), "the soul"; but he never used the word for defunct or dead, tíkistíkni-čay, literally, "that which is stretched out," designating the corpse, which [193] is not the object of any ceremony. 2. The verb pít'-čkičay means "to offer alcohol or chicha to a spirit"; here we have the imperative indicated by the prefix ču followed by the pure root. 5. škít- ti designates clothes in general.

*539 124

X. Conversation with the Two Informants: Carlos Kispe and Manuel Inta

(See p. 168 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. C. K.: These words which we have taught thee have tired us. 2. M. I.: My throat is dry from talking. 3. C. K.: [206] The coca is finished. 4. M. I.: There is no more coca at all. 5. C. K.: Give us some brandy. 6. Investigator: I shall give [213] thee some. 7. M. I.: I shall drink, oh father (formula of politeness before drinking). They drink. 8. M. I.: Be very alert, oh father (formula of politeness after drinking).
● [126] 9. C. K.: Thou hast made a picture of us two (C. K. and his wife) next to each other; thou wilt send it to us. 10. Investigator: Good, I shall send thee this picture; why dost thou ask for it? 11. C. K.: When my wife dies I shall look at her picture. 12. M. I.: Now we shall not say anything more to anyone.

/192 cont./

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine [162] subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were [144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last [167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 126 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.

--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

826 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

/205 cont./

141 C. Kispe is again an exception, falling at the border of the breviskelics. The three women are macroskelic.

Macroskelic Men, x-51.0: 3 men.

Women, x-52.0: 3 women.

Meroskelic Men, 51.1-53.0: 3 men.

The extreme values for the men range from 47.9 to /206/ 52.0 (or 52.9, counting C. Kispe). The arithmetical average, even with C. Kispe, underlines the macroskelicism of the group: 50.91; when not counting this half-breed element, it falls to 50.52. The female average is 51.06.

The span among the men as well as the women is greater than stature. The arithmetical average for this difference is 5.3 c. for the first five men and 2.4 c. for the women. C. Kispe, in contrast, is of a stature greater than his span by 4.6 c. The height-span index is below 100, except for Carlos Kispe.

5 men (without counting C. Kispe: 94.4 to 99.8. Arithmetical average: 96.58.

Carlos Kispe: 101.0.

3 women: 97.5 to 99.1. Arithmetical average: 98.46.

The relation of the upper limb to stature varies from 41.3% to 49.3% among the men, with an arithmetical average of 45.8%, and from 42.3% to 44.4% among the women with an average of 43.3%.

Hematological Studies

126 143 To complete this work, and in spite of the small number of subjects, we studied the blood groups of all the inhabitants of Iru-Itu, without taking into account origin or degree of relationship. Only the two old women refused to undergo this examination.

Our investigation thus dealt with 27 subjects:

6 Uru men;

4 Uru women;

/206 cont./

126 9 Uru children;
143 3 Aymara women;
5 Uru-Aymara and Aymara children.

The blood, obtained by pricking the ear lobe and placed in an oxalate physiological solution, was examined two days later in the laboratory. Two standard serums /207/ were used, a Brazilian serum and one from La Paz. The results were checked by microscope.

143 The results were uniform. All the individuals belong to group O, which once again emphasizes the preponderance of this group in South America.

We established the leucocytic formula for three men, Manuel Inta, Andrés Vila, and Carlos Kispe:

Manuel Inta: lymphocytes: 29%; large mononuclears: 6%; neutrophiles: 65%.

Andrés Vila: lymphocytes: 51%; large mononuclears: 5%; eosinophiles: 3%; basophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 40%.

Carlos Kispe: lymphocytes: 28%; large mononuclears: 7%; eosinophiles: 1%; neutrophiles: 64%.

We were able to make a globular count, completed by an erythrosedimentation, for only one subject, Manuel Inta:

Red globules: 4,900,000; leucocytes: 8,300.

Erythrosedimentation: 1 hour 3.5; 2 hours 13; 24 hours 60.

Red globules: 57%; plasma: 43% (after centrifugation).

Time of coagulation (capillary tube): 7 to 8 minutes.

Hemoglobin: 97% (Heilige's micro-comparator).

This single observation and the advanced age of Manuel Inta make the interpretation of the results difficult. It must be emphasized that the normal number of red globules in La Paz is from 6,000,000 to 6,500,000. The reduction observed coincides with extreme slowness of sedimentation.

Lastly, we conducted a Kahn reaction on the same subject:

Kahn Standard: +
Original Kahn: + + +

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
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his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]

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in-law of some eighty-odd years. While they talked the parent of pure Uru we could make a sound-recording.

A badly-bombed area of London is in good repair compared with the Uru streets. Finally having climbed over crumbling walls and fallen into deep holes, we arrived at the house. Seated against the wall in the sun was perhaps the oldest human being I have ever seen. The mayor who spoke fluent Spanish said she was well over a hundred. Had she been less deaf and more comprehensible, I am sure we should have discovered that she had waved to General Sucre during the wars of the Liberation. Seated on the low wall was the daughter, a young seventy. The mayor explained what we wanted. The centenarian mumbled, but Roca's efforts with the recorder were unsuccessful. We left her to provide local colour and material for photographs of the most amazing wrinkles. The son-in-law seemed completely inert, so turning to the daughter the mayor asked her to talk. Realizing that a unique occasion was offered her probably after a lifetime of oppression, she settled herself firmly on a solid piece of wall, and the floodgates of Uru eloquence opened. She launched forth into what was apparently her life-history, accompanied by the most extraordinary mime. Mother, who was past seeing, hearing and still less, caring, continued to mutter, the husband, when the recital became particularly spirited, would stop chewing his *coca,* lift his head and open his mouth, but no sound issued forth. Apparently the mechanism had definitely run down, and he relapsed again into a state of ruminating coma. Encouraged by the general enthusiasm, our star became more and more expansive. By now most of the inhabitants had arrived on the scene, and judging by the expression on the faces of the other ladies, she had by unanimous consent taken upon herself the role of local parliamentary candidate. She held the audience spellbound for one and a quarter hours, when either her vocal cords relaxed or she had come momenta-

[p. 309-B]

B.Fam T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24
Iru Ifa

There
were some withered Palm-Sunday decorations made from the rushes which border the river. They were plaited and twisted and fringed and hung on rusty nails. The door stood partially open. A low adobe-wall surrounded the building. There were no tombs in evidence. A family of donkeys had taken up their residence there. We gave them some biscuit and apple, and they followed us down the stony path to where the village was assembled. The cameras were ticking, and our chauffeur Carlos had been promoted to stagehand with a wooden clapper. Our star was continuing her role with renewed enthusiasm; leaning against the wall were two boys 11 or 12 years old, one had beautiful smooth regular features. I photographed him, but he never moved, nor seemed conscious of our presence. We left him standing motionless and followed the younger one down to the river where a man was plaiting rushes, preparatory to making a balsa.

Some fifteen years ago the whole region suffered from a severe draught. The waterlevel of the lake descended from twelve to fifteen feet and many of the marshes dried out, and the reeds, the *totora*, withered and disappeared. These totoras play as important a part among the Uru as the llama among the Aymara or Quechua on the Altiplano. While the stems are used for making balsas, sails and ropes, the roots or *kzouras* are the staple diet of the Uru, who also use it to brew a kind of beer, allowing the tubercles to ferment.

Fortunately in these last few years the climatic conditions have once more returned to normal, and with the rise of the lake the totoras have once more increased. These rafts, with their tall pointed bows, have the gracefulness of a gondola. They are composed of three cylinders, two forming the sides and one the centre. The rushes are plaited into long braids, the end being held between the man's toes. These braids are then plaited together and together again, and all these ropes are assembled, moistened and laced together. Two men work simultaneously,

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Brazil T-6 (ca. 1956) 1950

8934 thru 8936
T-a Zfw

tightening the braids with little wooden hooks, taking care that the two parallel cylinders have exactly the same size and weight, so that the balsa will not capsize. Herein lies the art of balsa-building. While the construction is in progress, a [illegible] man waters the cylinders, so that the reed remains slightly damp. For hours on end they tighten the cords, and with a little stone hammer they tap the braids together so that they end by forming a substance hard as wood. The balsa is then turned over, the two pointed ends are placed in holes in the ground, and earth is tightly packed around them, so that they may keep their form. Here they remain for several days, afterwards they are taken out, and a hole is made in which the mast is placed, and the reed sail is attached to it by three cords. In the very small balsa the fisherman holds a stick to which a little sail is attached. The large balsas measure between twenty-one and twenty-five feet. They draw about forty cms. of water and can carry from eight to ten passengers. The small balsa is about seven feet long and carries two passengers. When not using a sail, they employ a long double paddle, or a punt-pole when circulating among the rushes. The life of the balsa is short: they are built in three or four days, but they are rarely deemed safe for use on the lake, where storms are frequent for more than six months in the year. Generally they end their days as punts which keep to the edge of the lake among the rushes.

The cameras were set up, and I took photographs and then wandered up the river, where suddenly I perceived the raucous lady, who was if possible even more insulting than on the previous day. Seeing the camera, which she doubtless took for the eye of Satan, she flung a stone which missed me by yards, and, uttering more curses, fled, making the sign of the cross and at the same time keeping her fingers crossed, so as to be well on the safe side with all the forces of the supernatural. We had by now filmed and photographed the population from almost every

B.Mus T-6 (ca.1954) 1955

SP34 Uru SP34
I-e I Pa

angle. The professor was taking chest- and head-measurements and making notes. We lunched, giving the remains to the children, who looked somewhat suspiciously at cold ham, tomatoes and cake, and hid it away in their skirts. As we reached the car, we saw a thin column of smoke, and, sure enough, the village cooking fire was alight. Owing to the poverty of the village, they have only enough fuel to light about one fire every day or every two days. Two girls in scarlet skirts, little cotton jackets which had once been pink, and dusty battered bowler hats, crouching on all fours, played the part of bellows. The youngest, remarkably pretty and remarkably dirty, ran into the house and emerged dragging a large iron pot. My thirst for ethnology was satiated and I felt sure that Vellard had already gone into the question of Uru cooking, and that further

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